A SECOND

Collection of Papers

Relating to the

Preſent Juncture of Affairs in *England*.

VIZ.

I. An Enquiry into the Meaſures of Submiſſion to the Supreme Authority; and of the Grounds on which it may be lawful or neceſſary for Subjects to defend their Religion, Lives, and Liberties.

II. An Anſwer to a Paper, intituled, *Reflections on the Prince of Orange's Declaration.*

III. Admiral *Herbert*'s Letter to all Commanders of Ships and Seamen in his Majeſty's Fleet.

IV. An Engagement of the Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen at *Exeter*, to aſſiſt the Prince of *Orange* in the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, Laws and Liberties of the People of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

V. The Declaration of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty at the Rendezvous at *Nottingham*, *Novemb.* 22. 1688.

VI. The D. of *Norfolk*'s Speech to the Mayor of *Norwich* *December* 1. in the Market-place of *Norwich*.

VII. The Addreſs of the Lord *Dartmouth*, and the Commanders of his Majeſty's Fleet, giving his Majeſty hearty Thanks for calling a Parliament to ſettle the Realm both in Church and State.

The Third Edition.

Licenſed and Entred according to Order.

London printed, and are to be ſold by *Richard Janeway* in Queen's-head-Court in *Pater-noſter-Row*, 1689.

AN

ENQUIRY

Into the Meaſures of

SUBMISSION

TO THE

SUPREAM AUTHORITY:

And of the Grounds *upon which it may be* lawful *or neceſſary for* Subjects *to defend their* Religion, Lives, *and* Liberties.

THis *Enquiry* cannot be regularly made, but by taking in the firſt place, a true and full view of the nature of *Civil Society*, and more particularly of the nature of *Supream Power*, whether it is lodged in one or more Perſons?

1. It is certain, That the *Law of Nature* has put no difference nor ſubordination among Men, except it be that of *Children* to *Parents*, or of *Wives* to their *Husbands*; ſo that with Relation to the Law of Nature, all Men are born free: and this Liberty muſt ſtill be ſuppoſed entire, unleſs ſo far as it is limited by Contracts, Proviſions and Laws. For a Man can either bind himſelf to be a Servant, or ſell himſelf to be a Slave, by which he becomes in the power of another, only ſo far as it was provided by the Contract: ſince all that Liberty which was not expreſly given away, remains ſtill entire: ſo that the

Plea for Liberty always proves it ſelf, unleſs it appears that it is given up or limited by any ſpecial Agreement.

II. It is no leſs certain, that as the Light of Nature has planted in all Men a Natural Principle of the Love of Life, and of a deſire to preſerve it; ſo the common Principles of all Religion agree in this, that God having ſet us in this World, we are bound to preſerve that Being, which he has given us, by all juſt and lawful ways. Now this Duty of Self-preſervation is exerted in Inſtances of two ſorts; the one are, in the reſiſting of violent Aggreſſors; the other are the taking of juſt Revenges of thoſe, who have invaded us ſo ſecretly, that we could not prevent them, and ſo violently that we could not reſiſt them: In which caſes the Principle of ſelf-Preſervation warrants us, both to recover what is our own, with juſt Damages, and alſo to put ſuch unjuſt Perſons out of a Capacity of doing the like Injuries any more, either to our ſelves, or to any others. Now in theſe Inſtances of Self-Preſervation, this difference is to be obſerved; that the firſt cannot be limited by any ſlow Forms, ſince a preſſing Danger requires a vigorous Repulſe, and cannot admit of Delays; whereas the ſecond, of taking Revenges, or Reparations, is not of ſuch haſte, but that it may be brought under Rules and Forms.

III. The true and Original Notion of *Civil Society* and *Government*, is, that it is a Compromiſe made by ſuch a Body of Men, by which they reſign up the Right of demanding Reparations, either in the way of Juſtice againſt one another, or in the way of War, againſt their Neighbours; to ſuch a ſingle Perſon, or to ſuch a Body of Men as they think fit to truſt with this. And in the management of this *Civil Society*, great diſtinction is to be made, between the Power of making Laws for the regulating the Conduct of it, and the Power of executing thoſe Laws: The *Supream Authority* muſt ſtill be ſuppoſed to be lodged with thoſe who have the *Legiſlative Power* reſerved to them, but not with thoſe who have only the *Executive*; which is plainly a *Truſt*, when it is ſeparated from the *Legiſlative Power*; and all *Truſts*, by their nature import, that thoſe to whom they are given, are accountable, even though that it ſhould not be expreſly ſpecified in the words of the *Truſt* it ſelf.

IV. It

IV. It cannot be ſuppoſed, by the Principles of Natural Religion, that God has authoriſed any one *Form of Government*, any other way than as the general Rules of Order, and of Juſtice, oblige all Men not to ſubvert Conſtitutions, nor diſturb the Peace of Mankind, or invade thoſe Rights with which the Law may have veſted ſome Perſons: for it is certain, that as private Contracts lodg or tranſlate private Rights; ſo the *Publick Laws* can likewiſe lodg ſuch Rights, Prerogatives and Revenues in thoſe under whoſe Protection they put themſelves, and in ſuch a manner, that they may come to have as good a Title to theſe, as any private Perſon can have to his Property: ſo that it becomes an Act of high Injuſtice and Violence to invade theſe: which is ſo far a greater Sin than any ſuch Actions would be againſt a private Perſon, as the publick Peace and Order is preferrable to all private Conſiderations whatſoever. So that in Truth, the Principles of *Natural Religion*, give thoſe that are in Authority no Power at all, but they do only ſecure them in the Poſſeſſion of that which is theirs by Law. And as no Conſiderations of Religion can bind me to pay another more than I indeed owe him, but do only bind me more ſtrictly to pay what I owe; ſo the Conſiderations of Religion do indeed bring *Subjects* under ſtricter Obligations to pay all due Allegiance and Submiſſion to their *Princes*, but they do not at all extend that Allegiance further than the Law carries it. And though a Man has no Divine Right to his Property, but has acquired it by human means, ſuch as Succeſſion, or Induſtry, yet he has a Security for the Enjoyment of it, from a Divine Right; ſo tho *Princes* have no immediate Warrants from Heaven, either for their Original Titles, or for the extent of them, yet they are ſecured in the Poſſeſſion of them by the Principles and Rules of *Natural Religion*.

V. It is to be conſidered, that as a private Perſon can bind himſelf to another Man's Service, by different degrees, either as an ordinary Servant for Wages, or as one appropriate for a longer time, as an Apprentice; or by a total giving himſelf up to another, as in the caſe of Slavery: in all which caſes the general Name of *Maſter* may be equally uſed, yet the degrees of his Power, are to be judged by the nature of the Contract: ſo likewiſe Bodies of Men can give themſelves up in

different degrees to the Conduct of others: and therefore though all those may carry the same Name of *King*, yet every ones Power is to be taken from the measures of that Authority which is lodged in him, and not from any general Speculations founded on some Equivocal Terms, such as *King*, *Sovereign*, or *Supream*.

VI. It is certain, that God, as the Creator and Governour of the World, may set up whom he will to rule over other Men: But this Declaration of his Will must be made evident by Prophets, or other extraordinary Men sent of him, who have some manifest proofs of the Divine Authority that is committed to them on such occasions, and upon such Persons declaring the Will of God in favour of any others, that Declaration is to be submitted to and obeyed. But this pretence of a Divine Delegatation, can be carried no further than to those who are thus expresly marked out, and is unjustly claimed by those who can prove no such Declaration to have been ever made in favour of them or their Families. Nor does it appear reasonable to conclude from their being in Possession, that it is the Will of God that it should be so, this justifies all Usurpers when they are successful.

VII. The measures of *Power*, and by consequence of *Obedience*, must be taken from the expres Laws of any State or Body of Men, from the Oaths that they swear, or from immemorial Prescription, and a long Possession, which both give a Title, and in a long Tract of Time make a bad one become good, since Prescription, when it passes the Memory of Man, and is not disputed by any other Pretender, gives by the common Sense of all Men a just and good Title: so upon the whole matter, the degrees of all Civil Authority are to be taken either from expres Laws, immemorial Customs, or from particular Oaths, which the Subjects swear to their Princes: this being still to be laid down for a Principle, that in all the Disputes between *Power* and *Liberty*, *Power* must allways be proved, but *Liberty* proves it self; the one being founded only upon a Positive Law, and the other upon the Law of Nature.

VIII. If from the general Principles of Human Society, and Natural Religion, we carry this matter to be examined by the Scriptures, it is clear that all the Passages that are in the Old

Testa-

Teſtament, are not to be made uſe of in this matter of neither ſide. For as the Land of *Canaan* was given to the *Jews* by an immediate Grant from Heaven; ſo God reſerved ſtill this to himſelf, and to the Declarations that he ſhould make from time to time, either by his Prophets, or by the Anſwers that came from the Cloud of Glory that was between the Cherubims, to ſet up Judges or Kings over them, and to pull them down again as he thought fit. Here was an expreſs Delegation made by God, and therefore all that was done in that Diſpenſation, either for or againſt Princes, is not to be made uſe of in any other State that is founded on another Bottom and Conſtitution, and all the Expreſſions in the Old Teſtament relating to *Kings*, ſince they belong to Perſons that were immediately deſigned by God, are without any ſort of Reaſon applied to thoſe who can pretend to no ſuch Deſignation, neither for themſelves nor for their Anceſtors.

IX. As for the New Teſtament, it is plain, that there are no Rules given in it, neither for the *Forms of Government* in general, nor for the degrees of any one Form in particular, but the general Rules of Juſtice, Order and Peace, being eſtabliſhed in it upon higher Motives, and more binding Conſiderations, than ever they were in any other Religion whatſoever, we are moſt ſtrictly bound by it to obſerve the Conſtitution in which we are; and it is plain, that the Rules ſet us in the Goſpel can be carried no further. It is indeed clear from the New Teſtament, that the Chriſtian Religion as ſuch, gives us no grounds to defend or propagate it by force. It is a Doctrine of the Croſs, and of Faith, and Patience under it: And if by the order of Divine Providence, and of any Conſtitution of Government, under which we are born, we are brought under Sufferings for our profeſſing of it, we may indeed retire and fly out of any ſuch Country if we can; but if that is denied us, we muſt then, according to this Religion, ſubmit to thoſe Sufferings under which we may be brought, conſidering that God will be glorified by us in ſo doing, and that he will both ſupport us under our Sufferings, and gloriouſly reward us for them.

This was the State of the *Chriſtian Religion*, during the three firſt *Centuries*, under Heathen *Emperors*, and a Conſtitution in which *Paganiſm* was eſtabliſh'd by Law. But if by the

Laws

Laws of any Government, the *Chriſtian Religion*, or any Form of it, is become a part of the Subjects *Property*, it then falls under another Conſideration; not as it is a *Religion*, but as it is become one of the principal Rights of the Subjects to believe and profeſs it: and then we muſt judg of the Invaſions made on that, as we do of any other Invaſion that is made on our other *Rights*.

X. All the Paſſages in the *New Teſtament* that relate to *Civil Government*, are to be expounded as they were truly meant, in oppoſition to that falſe Notion of the *Jews*, who believed themſelves to be ſo immediately under the Divine Authority, that they could not become the Subjects of any other Power, particularly of one that was not of their Nation, or of their Religion; therefore they thought they could not be under the *Roman* Yoke, nor bound to pay Tribute to *Cæſar*, but judged that they were only ſubject out of *Fear*, by reaſon of the force that lay on them, but not *for Conſcience ſake:* And ſo in all their Diſperſion, both at *Rome* and elſewhere, they thought they were *God's Freemen*, and made uſe of this pretended *Liberty as a Cloak of Maliciouſneſs*. In oppoſition to all which, ſince in a courſe of many Years, they had asked the Protection of the *Roman* Yoke, and were come under their Authority, our Saviour ordered them to continue in that, by his ſaying, *Render to* Ceſar *that which is* Ceſar's; and both St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and St. *Peter* in his general *Epiſtle*, have very poſitively condemned that pernicious Maxim, but without any formal Declarations made of the Rules or Meaſures of *Government*. And ſince both the *People* and *Senate* of *Rome* had acknowledged the Power that *Auguſtus* had indeed violently uſurped, it became Legal when it was thus ſubmitted to, and confirmed both by the *Senate* and *People:* and it was eſtabliſhed in his Family by a long Preſcription, when thoſe *Epiſtles* were writ: So that upon the whole Matter, all that is in the *New Teſtament* upon this Subject, imports no more, but that *all Chriſtians* are bound to acquieſce in the *Government*, and ſubmit to it, according to the Conſtitution that is ſetled by *Law*.

XI. We are then at laſt brought to the Conſtitution of our Engliſh Government: ſo that no general Conſiderations from Speculations about Sovereign Power, nor from any Paſſages, either

either of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, ought to determine us in this Matter; which muſt be fixed from the Laws and Regulations that have been made among us. It is then certain, that with Relation to the Executive part of the Government, the Law has lodged that ſingly in the King; ſo that the whole adminiſtration of it is in him; but the Legiſlative Power is lodged between the King and the two Houſes of Parliament; ſo that the Power of making and repealing Laws, is not ſingly in the King, but only ſo far as the two Houſes concur with him. It is alſo clear, that the King has ſuch a determined extent of Prerogative, beyond which he has no Authority: As for Inſtance, If he levies Mony of his People, without a Law impowring him to it, he goes beyond the Limits of his Power, and asks that to which he has no Right: So that there lies no Obligation on the Subject to grant it; and if any in his Name uſe Violence for the obtaining it, they are to be looked on as ſo many Robbers, that invade our Property; and they being violent Aggreſſors, the Principle of Self-Preſervation ſeems here to take place, and to warrant as violent a Reſiſtance.

XII. There is nothing more evident, than that *England* is a Free Nation, that has its Liberties and Properties reſerved to it, by many poſitive and expreſs Laws: If then we have a Right to our Property, we muſt likewiſe be ſuppoſed to have a Right to preſerve it: for thoſe Rights are by the Law ſecured againſt the Invaſions of the Prerogative, and by conſequence we muſt have a Right to preſerve them againſt thoſe Invaſions. It is alſo evidently declared by our Law, that all Orders and Warrants that are iſſued out in oppoſition to them, are null of themſelves; and by conſequence, any that pretend to have Commiſſions from the King for thoſe Ends, are to be conſidered as if they had none at all; ſince thoſe Commiſſions being void of themſelves, are indeed no Commiſſions in the Conſtruction of the Law; and therefore thoſe who act in vertue of them, are ſtill to be conſidered as private Perſons who come to invade and diſturb us. It is alſo to be obſerved, that there are ſome Points that are juſtly diſputable and doubtful, and others that are ſo manifeſt, that it is plain that any Objections that can be made to them, are rather forced Pretences, than ſo much as plauſible Colours. It is true, if the Caſe is doubtful, the Intereſt of the publick Peace and Order ought to carry it;

but the Caſe is quite different, when the Invaſions that are made upon *Liberty* and *Property*, are plain and viſible to all that conſider them.

XIII. The main and great Difficulty here, is, that though our Government does indeed aſſert the *Liberty of the Subject*, yet there are many expreſs Laws made, that lodg the *Militia* ſingly in the King, that make it plainly unlawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King, or any Commiſſioned by him: And theſe Laws have been put in the Form of an Oath, which all that have born any Employment, either in Church or State, have ſworn; and therefore thoſe Laws for the aſſuring our *Liberties*, do indeed bind the King's Conſcience, and may affect his Miniſters; yet ſince it is a Maxime of our Law, that the *King can do no wrong*, theſe cannot be carried ſo far as to juſtify our taking Arms againſt him, be the Tranſgreſſions of Law ever ſo many and ſo manifeſt. And ſince this has been the conſtant *Doctrine* of the *Church of England*, it will be a very heavy Imputation on us, if it appears, that though we held thoſe Opinions, as long as the Court and Crown have favoured us, yet as ſoon as the Court turns againſt us, We change our Principles.

XIV. Here is the true Difficulty of this whole Matter, and therefore it ought to be exactly conſidered: *Firſt*, All general Words, how large ſoever, are ſtill ſuppoſed to have a tacit Exception and reſerve in them, if the Matter ſeems to require it. Children are commanded to obey their Parents in *all things*: Wives are declared by the Scripture, to be ſubject to their Husbands *in all things, as the Church is unto Chriſt*: And yet how comprehenſive ſoever theſe words may ſeem to be, there is ſtill a reſerve to be underſtood in them; and though by our Form of Marriage, the Parties ſwear to one another *till Death them do part*, yet few doubt but that this Bond is diſſolved by Adultery, though it is not named; for odious things ought not to be ſuſpected, and therefore not named upon ſuch occaſions: But when they fall out, they carry ſtill their own force with them. 2. When there ſeems to be a Contradiction between two Articles in the Conſtitution, we ought to examin which of the two is the moſt Evident, and the moſt Important, and ſo we ought to fix upon it, and then we muſt give ſuch an accommodating ſenſe to that which ſeems to contradict it, that

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ſo we may reconcile thoſe together. Here then are two ſeeming Contradictions in our Conſtitution; The one is the *Publick Liberty* of the Nation; the other is the Renouncing of all *Reſiſtance*, in caſe that were invaded. It is plain, that our *Liberty* is only a thing that we enjoy at the *King*'s Diſcretion, and during his Pleaſure, if the other againſt all Reſiſtance is to be underſtood according to the utmoſt extent of the Words. Therefore ſince the chief Deſign of our whole Law, and of all the ſeveral Rules of our Conſtitution, is to ſecure and maintain our *Liberty*, we ought to lay that down for a Concluſion, that it is both the moſt plain and the moſt important of the two. And therefore the other Article againſt *Reſiſtance* ought to be ſo ſoftned as that it do not deſtroy us. 3. Since it is by a Law that *Reſiſtance* is condemned, we ought to underſtand it in ſuch a ſenſe as that it does not deſtroy all other Laws: And therefore the intent of this *Law*, muſt only relate to the *Executive Power*, which is in the *King*, and not to the *Legiſlative*, in which we cannot ſuppoſe that our Legiſlators, who made that Law, intended to give up that, which we plainly ſee they reſolved ſtill to preſerve entire, according to the Ancient Conſtitution. So then, the not reſiſting the *King*, can only be applied to the *Executive Power*, that ſo upon no pretence of ill Adminiſtrations in the Execution of the Law, it ſhould be lawful to reſiſt him; but this cannot with any reaſon be extended to an Invaſion of the *Legiſlative Power*, or to a total *Subverſion of the Government*. For it being plain, that the *Law* did not deſign to lodg that Power in the *King*, it is alſo plain, that it did not intend to ſecure him in it, in caſe he ſhould ſet about it. 4. The Law mentioning the *King*, or thoſe *Commiſſioned* by him, ſhews plainly, that it only deſigned to ſecure the *King* in the Executive Power: for the word *Commiſſion* neceſſarily imports this, ſince if it is not according to *Law*, it is no *Commiſſion*; and by Conſequence, thoſe who act in virtue of it, are not Commiſſionated by the *King* in the Senſe of the *Law*. The *King* likewiſe imports a Prince clothed by *Law* with the Regal Prerogative; but if he goes to *ſubvert* the whole Foundation of the Government, he *ſubverts* that by which he himſelf has his Power, and by conſequence he annuls his own Power; and then he

ceaſes to be *King*, having endeavoured to deſtroy that upon which his own Authority is founded.

XV. It is acknowledged by the greateſt Aſſertors of Monarchial Power, that in ſome Caſes a *King* may fall from his Power, and in other Caſes that he may fall from the Exerciſe of it. His Deſerting his People; his going about to enſlave, or ſell them to any other; or a furious going about to deſtroy them, are in the opinion of the moſt Monarchial Lawyers, ſuch Abuſes, that they naturally diveſt thoſe that are guilty of them, of their whole Authority. *Infancy* or *Phrenzy* do alſo put them under the Guardianſhip of others. All the Crowned Heads of *Europe* have, at leaſt ſecretly, approved of the putting the late *King of Portugal* under a Guardianſhip, and the keeping him ſtill a Priſoner for a few Acts of Rage, that had been fatal to a very few Perſons: And even our Court gave the firſt countenance to it, though of all others the late King had the leaſt reaſon to have done it, at leaſt laſt of all, ſince it juſtified a younger Brother's ſupplanting the Elder; yet the Evidence of the Thing carried it even againſt Intereſt. Therefore if a King goes about to ſubvert the Government, and to overturn the whole Conſtitution, he by this muſt be ſuppoſed, either to fall from his Power, or at leaſt from the Exerciſe of it, ſo far as that he ought to be put under Guardians; and according to the Caſe of *Portugal*, the next Heir falls naturally to be the Guardian.

XVI. The next Thing to be conſidered, is to ſee in Fact whether the Foundations of this *Government* have been ſtruck at, and whether thoſe Errors that have been perhaps committed, are only ſuch Maleverſations as ought to be imputed only to human Frailty, and to the Ignorance, Inadvertencies, or Paſſions to which all Princes may be ſubject, as well as other Men. But this will beſt appear, if we conſider what are the Fundamental Points of our Government, and the chief Securities that we may have for our Liberties.

The Authority of the Law is indeed all in one word, ſo that if the King pretends to a Power to diſpenſe with Laws, there is nothing left upon which the Subject can depend; and yet as if the Diſpenſing Power were not enough, if Laws are wholly ſuſpended for all Time coming, this is plainly a repealing of them,

them, when likewiſe the Men, in whoſe Hands the Adminiſtration of Juſtice is put by Law, ſuch as Judges and Sheriffs, are allowed to tread all Laws under-foot, even thoſe that infer an Incapacity on themſelves if they violate them; this is ſuch a breaking of the whole Conſtitution, that we can no more have the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, ſo that it is really a Diſſolution of the Government; ſince all Trials, Sentences, and the Executions of them, are become ſo many unlawful Acts, that are null and void of themſelves.

The next Thing in our Conſtitution, which ſecures to us our *Laws* and *Liberties*, is a *Free* and *Lawful Parliament*. Now, not to mention the breach of the *Law* of *Triennial Parliaments*, it being above three Years ſince we had a Seſſion that enacted any Law; Methods have been taken, and are daily a taking, that render this impoſſible. *Parliaments* ought to be choſen with an entire Liberty, and without either Force or Preingagements: whereas if all Men are required before-hand to enter into Engagements how they will vote if they are choſen themſelves, or how they will give their Voices in the Electing of others? This is plainly ſuch a preparation to a *Parliament*, as would indeed make it no *Parliament*, but a *Cabal*, if one were choſen, after all that Corruption of Perſons who had preingaged themſelves, and after the Threating and Turning out of all Perſons out of Imploiments who had refuſed to do it: And if there are ſuch daily Regulations made in the Towns, that it is plain thoſe who manage them, intend at laſt to put ſuch a number of Men in the Corporations, as will certainly chuſe the Perſons who are recommended to them. But above all, if there are ſuch a number of Sheriffs and Mayors made over *England*, by whom the Elections muſt be conducted and returned, who are now under an Incapacity by Law, and ſo are no legal Officers, and by conſequence thoſe Elections that paſs under their Authority are null and void: If, I ſay, it is clear that things are brought to this, then the Government is diſſolved, becauſe it is impoſſible to have a *Free and Legal Parliament* in this ſtate of things. If then both the Authority of the *Law*, and the Conſtitution of the *Parliament* are ſtruck at and diſſolved, here is a plain Subverſion of the whole Government. But if we enter next into the particular Branches of

the Government, we will find the like Diſorder among them all.

The *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Church of England* make a great Article of our Government, the latter being ſecured, not only of old by *Magna Charta*, but by many ſpecial *Laws* made of late; and there are particular *Laws* made in K. *Charles* the Firſt, and the late King's Time, ſecuring them from all Commiſſions that the King can raiſe for Judging or Cenſuring them. If then in oppoſition to this, a Court ſo condemned is erected, which proceeds to Judg and Cenſure the Clergy, and even to diſſeiſe them of their *Free-holds*, without ſo much as the form of a Trial, though this is the moſt indiſpenſable *Law* of all thoſe that ſecures the Property of *England*; and if the King pretends that he can require the Clergy to publiſh all his Arbitrary *Declarations*, and in particular one that ſtrikes at their whole Settlement, and has ordered Proceſs to be begun againſt all that diſobey'd this illegal Warrant, and has treated ſo great a number of the Biſhops as Criminals, only for repreſenting to him the Reaſons of their not obeying him; If likewiſe the King is not ſatisfied to profeſs his own Religion openly, though even that is contrary to *Law*, but has ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, and received Nuncio's from thence, which is plainly Treaſon by *Law*; If likewiſe many *Popiſh* Churches and Chappels have been publickly opened; if ſeveral Colledges of *Jeſuits* have been ſet up in divers parts of the Nation, and one of the Order has been made a Privy Counſellor, and a principal Miniſter of State: And if *Papiſts*, and even thoſe who turn to that Religion, though declared Traitors by *Law*, are brought into all the chief Imploiments, both Military and Civil; then it is plain, That all the Rights of the *Church of England*, and the whole Eſtabliſhment of the *Proteſtant Religion* are ſtruck at, and deſign'd to be overturned; ſince all theſe Things, as they are notoriouſly illegal, ſo they evidently demonſtrate, That the great Deſign of them all, is the rooting out of this Peſtilent Hereſy, in their ſtile, I mean, the *Proteſtant Religion*.

In the next place, If in the whole courſe of Juſtice, it is viſible that there is a conſtant practiſing upon the Judges, that they are turned out upon their varying from the Intentions of the

the Court; and if Men of no Reputation nor Abilities are put in their places; If an Army is kept up in time of Peace, and Men who withdraw from that illegal Service, are hanged up as Criminals, without any colour of Law, which, by conſequence, are ſo many Murders; and if the Souldiery are connived at and encouraged in the moſt enormous Crimes, that ſo they may be thereby prepared to commit greater ones, and from ſingle Rapes and Murders proceed to a Rape upon all our Liberties, and a Deſtruction of the Nation: If, I ſay, all theſe things are true in Fact; then it is plain, that there is ſuch a Diſſolution of the Government made, that there is not any one part of it left ſound and entire: And if all theſe things are done now, it is eaſie to imagine what may be expected, when *Arbitrary Power*, that ſpares no Man, and *Popery* that ſpares no Heretick, are finally eſtabliſhed: Then we may look for nothing but Gabelles, Tailles, Impoſitions, Benevolences, and all ſorts of Illegal Taxes; as from the other we may expect Burnings, Maſſacres, and Inquiſitions. In what is doing in *Scotland* we may gather what is to be expected in *England*; where if the King has over and over again declared, that he is veſted with an *Abſolute Power*, to which all are bound to *obey without reſerve*, and has upon that annulled almoſt all the Acts of Parliament that paſſed in K. *James* I. Minority, though they were ratified by himſelf when he came to be of Age, and were confirmed by all the ſubſequent Kings, not excepting the preſent. We muſt then conclude from thence, what is reſolved on here in *England*, and what will be put in Execution as ſoon as it is thought that the Times can bear it. When likewiſe the whole Settlement of *Ireland* is ſhaken, and the Army that was raiſed, and is maintained by Taxes that were given for an Army of *Engliſh Proteſtants*, to ſecure them from a new *Maſſacre* by the *Iriſh Papiſts*, is now all filled with *Iriſh Papiſts*, as well as almoſt all the other Imployments; it is plain, that not only all the *Britiſh Proteſtants* inhabiting that Iſland, are in daily danger of being butchered a ſecond time, but that the *Crown* of *England* is in danger of loſing that Iſland, it being now put wholly into the Hands and Power of the Native *Iriſh*, who as they formerly offered themſelves up ſometimes to the Crown of *Spain*, ſometimes to the *Pope*, and once

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to the Duke of *Lorrain*, ſo are they perhaps at this preſent treating with another *Court* for the Sale and Surrender of the Iſland, and for the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* in it.

If thus all the ſeveral Branches of our Conſtitution are diſſolved, it might be at leaſt expected that one part ſhould be left entire, and that is the *Regal Dignity:* But concerning the Birth of the ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales*, no Proofs were ever given either to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, or to any other Proteſtant Ladies, in whom we ought to repoſe any Confidence that the *Queen* was ever with Child; that whole Matter being managed with ſo much Myſteriouſneſs, that there were violent and publick Suſpicions of it before. But the whole Contrivance of the Birth, the ſending away the Princeſs of *Denmark*, the ſudden ſhortning of the *Reckoning*, the *Queen*'s ſudden going to St. *James*'s, her no leſs ſudden pretended Delivery; the hurrying the Child into another Room without ſhewing it to thoſe preſent, and without their hearing it cry; and the myſterious Conduct of all ſince that time; no Satisfaction being given to the Princeſs of *Denmark* upon her Return from the *Bath*, nor to any other Proteſtant Ladies, of the *Queen*'s having been really brought to Bed. Theſe are all ſuch evident Indications of an Impoſture in this Matter, that as the Nation has the juſteſt Reaſon in the World to doubt of it, ſo they have all poſſible Reaſon to be at no quiet till they ſee a Legal and Free Parliament aſſembled, which may impartially, and without either Fear or Corruption, examine that whole Matter.

If all theſe Matters are true in Fact, then I ſuppoſe no Man will doubt, that the whole Foundations of this Government, and all the moſt ſacred Parts of it, are overturned. And as to the Truth of all theſe Suppoſitions, that is left to every *Engliſhman*'s Judgment and Senſe.

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An ANSWER to a PAPER, intituled, *Reflections on the Prince of* ORANGE's *Declaration.*

IT ſeems a ſtrange piece of Arrogance that any Man ſhould reflect on a Declaration, becauſe it does not begin as he would have it; that is, with a Manifeſtation of our Clandeſtine Leagne with *France*, whereby an Army of *Frenchmen*, together with our *Papiſts*, *Iriſh*, and other Mercenaries, might eſtabliſh Popery in *England*. The Reflector ought to have conſider'd, that a Clandeſtine League, tho' it may be very notorious to its Exiſtence and Effects, may likewiſe be very difficult to prove, according to the meaning of the word Clandeſtine. But that there is ſuch a one, we have the Teſtimony of the King of *France*, in a Memorial delivered to the States of *Holland*; and though it has been ſince diſowned by our Court, and Mr. *Skelton* upon it committed to the Tower; his ſhort Confinement, and ſudden Advancement to a Regiment, ſhews that his Diſgrace was but a trick of State: It is alſo an inconſequential way of Arguing, that becauſe the Prince does not begin his Declaration with it, therefore there is no ſuch League, things of that high conſequence being eaſier and better carried on by ſecret Meſſages, than Writings under Hand and Seal.

2. In his ſecond Reflection, he tells us the Prince had needed leſs Apology, if he had pretended only to have come to deliver the King from Evil Counſellours, and to ingage him further in the Intereſt of *Europe*; forgetting the Prince does declare to us he comes for that end, tho' not ſingly, and brought over his Army to ſecure him from the Rage and Fury of thoſe Evil Counſellours. His next Quarrel is, that the Prince uſes the Stile, *Of We and Us within His Majeſties Dominions*; a thing,

thing, I believe, ordinary enough in Great Princes, when they ſpeak, or write to their Inferiours. The Prince of *Orange* is General of a great & numerous Army, Admiral of a vaſt Fleet, State-holder to a High and Mighty Common-wealth, and conſequently, too great to ſpeak in the Stile of a Private Perſon; ſo that Rewarding, Puniſhing, Commanding, Advancing, may very naturally fall within his Power. Nor is it any Crime to endeavour the calling of a Free Parliament, and ſettling the Nation, tho by ways and methods unuſual in our days, nothing being more frequent in our Hiſtories, than for our Barons, with Arms in their Hands, to compel their Kings to call and hearken to their Parliaments: But now there being a ſtanding Army of fourty thouſand Mercenaries in the Land, it was grown a Crime to petition for a Parliament, and a Folly to expect a free one, new Charters and Corporations, and a general Nomination of incompetent Magiſtrates, having taken the Election of Members for Parliament out of thoſe Hands, the Laws of the Land, and Memorial Cuſtom, had intruſted with them. According to the new Scheme deſigned by thoſe Upſtart and Popiſh Counſellours, no Man was to Elect, or be Elected for Parliament, that would not ingage, as far as in them lay, to take away the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*; nay, thoſe wicked Counſellors prevailed yet farther upon his Majeſty; and he that pardoned ſo many of his Enemies, was not ſuffered to forgive his beſt Friends, and moſt Loyal Subjects a Refuſal or Excuſe in that particular.

That the Prince will ſend back his Army, ſeems to ſome a ſtrong preſumption that he will not ſtay behind, ſince even our own lawful King thinks himſelf not ſafe without an Army of Mercenaries in his own Kingdom. From a ſtrain'd Phraſe or two, *Of We and Us*, *Require and Command*, ſometimes uſed in his Declaration, to infer, That the Prince of *Orange* intends to make himſelf King of *England*, ſeems to all rational Men a very captious and unſatisfactory way of arguing, and a very unjuſt Calumny caſt upon ſo great a Prince, ſince more than once in expreſs terms, he declares he has no deſign upon his Majeſty's Crown or Perſon, ſo that all that Reproach falls to the Ground.

3. In his third Reflection, he tells us the Prince wants a clear Call, and that a Son againſt a Father, a Nephew againſt

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and Unkle, a Neighbour againſt a Neighbour, cannot be ſuch: That he is a Son-in-Law, and a Nephew to his Preſent Majeſty, gives the Prince a fair and juſt pretence to interpoſe in our Affairs: had he been a Foreigner, as our *Reflector* terms him, it might have look'd like an intended Conqueſt; had he not been a Neighbour, it had been Impoſſible for him to have afforded us this ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance. But ſome think, that where Attempts are made to introduce the Catholick Religion, by a Conſpiracy againſt the Laws that ſecure and eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion and the Teſt, that only can keep the Papiſts out of the Government: And to carry on this Conſpiracy the better, the old Charters are taken away under pretence of Forfeiture and Surrender; new ones granted, ſuch as might bring Elections within the Power of thoſe Evil Counſellors; Papiſts upon the Bench, a Jeſuit in the Council, and whole Troops of them in the Army: 'Twas high time for a Proteſtant Prince, that had ſo near relation to the Crown of *England*, to look about him, and chooſe rather to be cenſured by our Reflector, and ſuch as he, for entering upon the Stage a little before his time, than be juſtly reproach'd and curs'd to the End of the World, by all ſuch as love the Proteſtant Religion, and ancient Government of *England*, for appearing too late in their Defence. The Example of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, may teach us how hard it is for a Proteſtant Prince to obtain his Right, where the Catholick Religion is predominant; nor was the new Armour of Popery he put on at laſt, ſufficient to defend the old Proteſtant againſt the Stab of a Jeſuited *Novitiate*.

4. His fourth Reflection acquaints us, the Proteſtant Religion is at once expos'd and hazarded; for if the King prevail, what can the Prince of *Orange*'s ſort of Proteſtants expect at his Hands, which are indeed all ſorts of Proteſtants that I know of, for the *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Phanaticks*, *Church-of*-England-*Men*, are in his Army: 'Tis fair warning, and I hope God will give the Proteſtants Grace to make the right uſe of it: As for their changing Maſters, 'tis a *Chimera* of his own, and utterly foreign to the Declaration he pretends to reflect upon. Leſt we ſhould forget, he reminds us with that admirable Demonſtration of, *I ſay, that the whole Proteſtant Religion is at ſtake*; for which I heartily

thank our worthy Reflector, for tho it be very true, we had not ſeen it in Print but for him.

5. In his fifth Reflection, he tells us that ſome Laws are better broken than kept, which will not be eaſily granted; 'tis indeed true, that ſome Laws were better be repealed than continued: But then they muſt be null'd by the ſame Power they were conſtituted, and not by any part of it in contradiction to the whole.

His inſtance is, That Chriſtianity could not have been introduc'd had the *Pagan* Laws been executed; by which Parallel he would warrant Popery to be the true Chriſtianity, and the Proteſtant the Heathen Perſecutors; Laws for Idolatry cannot bind, therefore Laws againſt it cannot; a very ſtrange Inference, and I allow that a Lawful Authority by exceeding their juſt Bounds, may act unlawfully, but the Legiſlative Power cannot, ſince all over the World the Supream Power ever was abſolute, be it in one or more. He ſays, no Man is obliged to maintain a Religion that is not true, be it never ſo legally eſtabliſhed: So that it is but ſaying the Proteſtant Religion is not true, and His Majeſty, notwithſtanding his repeated Ingagements, is no longer bound to protect it. For in the words of our Reflector 'tis an Abſurdity and Impiety to do ſo.

6. The ſixth thing conſiderable in our Reflector is, his Defence of the Diſpenſing Power, and the uſe His Majeſty, ſeduc'd by his Evil Councellors, makes of it; which is no other than the ſetting aſide of all our Laws made for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion; but ſure ſuch a Prerogative can never be legally veſted in the Crown, which, if admitted, were the deſtruction of all Law.

Had thoſe Evil Counſellors only prevailed with his Majeſty, to have diſpenſed with the Penalties inflicted on Catholicks and other Diſſenters, for ſerving of God according to their particular Conſciences, though perhaps contrary to Law, the matter had never been complained of: But to put them into Places of the higheſt Truſt, to make one Lieutenant of *Ireland*, another Preſident of the Council, a third Lieutenenant General of the Tower, a fourth a Judg; imploying numbers of them in the Army, Court, *&c.* is a Tranſgreſſion of the Law, which is certainly very dangerous,

if not immediately, yet inevitable in its Conſequences to the Proteſtant Religion and Government, and therefore a Miſchief remote only (as an Egg is from a Chicken) from the worthy Reflector's *Malum in ſe*, which he acknowledges this Diſpenſing Power extends not to. And the particular Catholicks breaking the Law in theſe Points, are without Excuſe: For no Man is obliged in Conſcience to be a Judg, a Prieſt, a Miniſter, a Privy-Councellor, a Courtier, or a Souldier in time of Peace, contrary to the Laws of the Land. Nor do thoſe Laws deprive the King of the Service of any of his Subjects abſolutely; ſince all Men, if they pleaſe, may capacitate themſelves for Imployment. If the High-Commiſſion-Court be at an end, *Magdalen*-Colledge and the Biſhop of London reſtored, we may in all appearance thank the Honeſty and Caution of ſome of its worthy Members, and the Noiſe of what our Reflector calls the Prince of *Orange*'s Invaſion; though ſome will ſay, a Deſcent upon *England* made by a Prince of the Blood, Married to the Eldeſt Daughter of the preſent King, upon the Invitation of many Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and of the conſiderable Gentry, Commonalty of all Counties, might have deſerved a fairer Name. Nor ought any Man to complain if his honeſt Neighbour break violently into his Houſe at a time when his Family cry out Fire or Murther; the common Obligation of Humanity, and a due care of their own Preſervation, exact no leſs of them. But this Paper is not intended for a Vindication of the Prince, I will therefore return to my Reflector again, who undertakes for all good Proteſtants that they only refus'd to repeal the Teſt, by reaſon of the Security it affords to their Religion. As if they had caſt off all care of their Civil Concerns, and were only intent upon Religious Affairs, ſo as to conſent to give his Majeſty a Majority of Papiſts in the Houſe of Lords; by which he might have two Negative Voices upon all Laws to be offer'd: and an Houſe of Peers ready to repeal the *Habeas Corpus* Bill, and ſuch Statutes as any ways ſeem to incumber what Papiſts think his Majeſties Prerogative, of which they maintain the Diſpenſing Power to be an Eſſential Part; and well they may, ſince it is the very Power, by which he maintains them in Places and Imployments: So that by leave of my worthy Reflector, the Conſiderations of Religion, tho

they are the principal, are not the only Reaſons, that have determined all good Proteſtants to a Non-concurrence with his Majeſty in the Repeal of the Teſt.

8. In his eighth Reflection he tells us, That Chappels are places of Devotion; ſo are *Turks* Moſques, and the *Jews* Synagogues, yet no good Chriſtian but would be offended to ſee them multiply'd and encouraged, either in his own, or his Neighbours Country.

9. In his ninth he tells us, The King was content the Teſt ſhould remain. I anſwer, Theſe Evil Counſellors were not content the Teſt ſhould remain, but ſent their Regulators and other Agents, to threaten, promiſe, remove and change the Magiſtrates in all Corporations in order to the procuring Members of Parliament, ſuch as were to enter the Houſe under ſolemn Promiſes, and firm Reſolutions, to take off the Penal Laws and Teſt, notwithſtanding all the weighty, nay, convincing Arguments they might meet with there to the contrary: A deſperate ſort of Senators, and fitter for *Catalines* Conſpiracies than an *Engliſh* Parliament. Nor did theſe Evil Counſellors ceaſe to ſollicit even Knights of the Shire, till the general Indignation their Propoſals met with, together with the Noiſe of the Prince of *Orange*'s Preparations, frightned them from a further proſecution of their enormous Attempts. He ingenuouſly confeſſes the ſeizing of Charters to have been a fault, ſo there is no Conteſt between us on that Point; but he adds, That the Prince of *Orange* has nothing to do with it; now others think him highly concern'd in it; for if, according to Sir *Thomas Moore*, *Rex Poteſt Juri per Parta mentem & poteſt & deſtrui*; or according to the Opinion of latter Times, a Parliament may make a Bill of Excluſion; a Prince that has ſo near a Relation to the Crown of *England*, ought not to ſuffer any foul play in the calling together ſuch an Aſſembly as may null his Title, or preclude him of his Right to the Crown in time to come. 'Tis true, the Counſel for ſeizing Charters was given in the laſt King's Reign, and moſt of them then ſeized, but no Man can deny but ſome have been condemned and ſeized in the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, and reſtored not till the Apprehenſion of the aforeſaid Invaſion; ſo that we are promiſed a Free Parliament, only becauſe they cannot put one of their own framing upon us.

10. His.

10. His tenth Paragraph needs no anſwer.

11. In his eleventh, he tells us there were but two Papiſt Judges, as if the Laws were not broken unleſs the Judges were all Papiſts; or that Judges ſitting contrary to Law could give a Legal Sentence. Both theſe defects he ſuppoſes ſupplied by the *Diſpenſing Power*, a Power ſufficiently baffled by thoſe Gentlemen of the long Robe of Counſel for the Biſhops, and not defended by either Judges or Counſel on the other ſide; for which two of the Judges, *Jones* and *Holloway*, loſt their places on the Bench.

12, 13. His twelfth and thirteenth concern *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and therefore I will leave them untouch'd, to the Gentlemen of thoſe Nations, who beſt underſtand, and are moſt ſenſible of the Oppreſſions they are under.

14. In his fourteenth, he pleads the Validity of the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, tho' that pretended *Prerogative* has been diſcuſs'd and baffled in *Parliament*, within theſe few years, and deſerted as ſuch by His late Majeſty; he affirms, that the King, as Head of the Church, might oblige the Biſhops to cauſe the Declaration to be read in the Churches, which if they had complied with, in the Opinion of many good *Proteſtants*, they had precluded themſelves of their Votes in *Parliament* againſt it; for with what Forehead could they Vote againſt the Declaration, when they cauſed it to be read in their Churches? An Act amounting to no leſs than maintaining, or owning, the *Diſpenſing Power*.

15. In his fifteenth, he allows the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange*, have, in terms full of reſpect, ſignified to the King their deep regret which all theſe things have given them, and their Thoughts about Repealing the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws* as an Expedient of Peace; but blames him, it ſeems, for doing all this ſo reſpectfully and privately, and would rather had it done by a *Manifeſto*, that ſome of the *Prince*'s Friends might be impriſoned for delivering it, as Captain *Lenham* is for bringing over the Declaration. He tells us next, the King has come up almoſt to *Fagel*'s Letter, which was the Declaration of their Minds, *viz.* The Church-of-*England*-Teſt, and Laws of Supremacy to remain; then urging the King's Conceſſions, which may be obſerv'd to bear date only from the report of the *Prince*'s Preparations for *England*.

16. He

16. He tells us in his ſixteenth, That the *Prince* thinks a *Free Parliament* to be the laſt and great Remedy for theſe Evils; but complains theſe Wicked Counſellors are againſt it, for fear of being called to Account, that they had preingaged Voices to take off the *Penal Laws* and the *Teſt*; and regulated Corporations and Burroughs, that ſo they might aſſure themſelves of the Members of *Parliament*. He allows the Charge, but ſays, What has all this to do with the King? No Man ſays it has, and the *Prince* only requires the removal and puniſhment of thoſe Evil Counſellors in a *Free Parliament*.

17. Next our Reflector tells, That there never was a *Parliament* abſolutely *Free*, but that Drink, Mony, and other Evil Arts, have had a great ſway in Elections. This is true, but no reaſon that we ſhou'd conſent to a General or Fundamental Corruption of our Elections, becauſe we canuot avoid ſome few and caſual Ones. Then he would have had the *Prince* have deſired the King to have laid aſide thoſe Evil Counſellors, as if it were not Notorious, that the *Princes* diſlike of ſome Men has been their ready way to Preferment in our Court; and Embaſſadors for *Holland* have been, of late, choſen out of thoſe he has moſt averſion for; as if theſe Wicked Counſellors feared nothing ſo much as a good Underſtanding between His Majeſty and the Prince of *Orange*.

19. In the nineteenth he tells, The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*'s Queſtion concerning the Birth of the *Prince of Wales*, ſaying, That *during the Queen's pretended Bigneſs, and in the manner in which the Birth was managed, there have appear'd ſo many juſt and viſible grounds of Suſpicion, that not only the Prince himſelf, but all good Subjects in* England, *do vehemently ſuſpect that the pretended Prince of* Wales *was not born of the Queen.*

20. Next our Reflector tells us, *That the Prince ought to have writ to the King for a private ſatisfaction in this Matter, which the King would no doubt have given in the manner that all reaſonable Men do when they are examined againſt themſelves.* All Men allow the imputation of ſuch an Impoſture, to be a great Reflection on their preſent Majeſties. But ſome think they have in a great meaſure drawn it upon themſelves, by omitting to have thoſe Witneſſes by, and thoſe Methods obſerved, that our Laws require to prove the Birth of a Legitimate Prince of *Wales*: 'Tis not perhaps enough to ſay, that there were as many

many Witneſſes, and as good Proof of it as the Law exacts; ſtill the Queſtion returns, Why not the ſame Perſons? a Legal Proof admits of no Equivolent.

Our Reflector will not deny, but that there has been common Fame all over *Europe*, that this Prince of *Wales* was not Born of the Body of her Majeſty, and common belief of it among Proteſtants; this of it ſelf were enough to make the next Heir to the Crown look about, and move every Stone that the Matter might be examined by impartial Methods in a *Free Parliament*, which is all that the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* aims at; for their Proofs to the contrary, 'tis not to expected they ſhould acquaint the World with them before the Trial.

22. In his two and twentieth Reflecton on the eighteenth Paragraph, where the Prince ſays, *He was invited to this Expedition by many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and many Gentlemen, and Subjects of all Ranks:* Our Reflector is pleaſed to tell him he is miſtaken, as *Monmouth* was. Notwithſtanding thoſe eminent Peers, Gentry and Commonalty of all ſorts that are already in his Camp, and ſuch as are going daily, as well Souldiers as others; nor conſidering the great number of the Nobility that are in the Country and have not been examin'd, and that ſuch as were examin'd here in Town, did no more than anſwer, Not Guilty to the Charge of High-Treaſon: So that there are more Nobility and Gentry with him than with his Majeſty.

In his three and twentieth Reflection on the 19*th* and 20*th* Paragraph, where the Prince refers all to a free Parliament, our Reflector ſays it belongs not to him, to refer other Mens buſineſs; as if the *Prince* had no relation to the Crown: Then tells us we are already in poſſeſſion of what the *Prince* promiſes us; as if the Catholicks were all out of imployment, the Diſpenſing power given up, no ſtanding Army, no apprehenſions of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and a *Free Parliament* for redreſſing of Grievances of all kinds in being.

24. In the twenty fourth Reflection on the three laſt Paragraphs of the *Princes* Declaration, he tells us, *The Prince has a manifeſt deſign upon the Crown, becauſe he ſummons the Nobility, Gentry and People of England to his Standard: And if ſo, who muſt ſtay with the King?* To that may be anſwered, All ſuch as believe the *Prince of Orange* has brought this Army, and intends

tends to make War upon *England* to ſubdue it to his meer will and pleaſure, trample all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under his Fleet, dethrone his preſent Majeſty, and make himſelf King; they will ſtay and fight for him, or at leaſt to the beſt of their power, in ſome other manner aſſiſt and help him: On the contrary part, ſuch as believe the *Prince* means nothing of all this, but brought over his Army only the better to aſſiſt the Nobility, Gentry, and People of *England*, upon their earneſt deſires, and frequent ſolliciations, and reiterated complaints, in the recovering of the old Legal way of chooſing Members for *Parliament*, which by Illegal new Charters, on pretended Forfeitures, was in a ready way to be for ever loſt; in reſcuing all the Laws of *England* from the devouring Jaws of a *Diſpenſing Power*; in reducing *Popery* within thoſe bounds the Law has preſcribed it, which, like an Inundation, had ſo over-flowed its Banks, that our Religion and Government were in peril to be ſwallowed up by it; and finally, to redreſs theſe and all other grievances, if for theſe and no other ends or concerns Men think the *Prince* has landed here, ſuch Men will take his part, eſpouſe his quarrel, and contribute to his ſucceſs: and in theſe caſes every Man will judg for himſelf, as they did in our late Civil Wars.

Again, he charges the *Prince* with a deſign of Conqueſt; which not only the *Prince* himſelf diſclaims throughout his Declaration, and will hereafter diſown in all his Manifeſto's; but the States of *Holland*, who have ſo vigorouſly aſſiſted, and engaged themſelves with all their Power and Credit, to maintain him in this Attempt, have aſſur'd us he left *Holland* under high and ſolemn Proteſtations to the contrary. All this is, I hope, ſufficient to daſh the ſtrain'd inferences of an inconſiderable Reflector.

As for that impudent Calumny of *Perjury* he endeavours to fix upon the *Prince*, it needs no other refutation than a ſerious conſideration of the Charge it ſelf; his Words are, *The Prince of* Orange *ſwore to the States of* Holland *never to be their State-holder, tho' it were offered him, and yet is now that very State-holder he ſwore never to be on any terms.* Now let any reaſonable Man conſider, whether it be poſſible a Wiſe State ſhould by an Oath given him, diſable the *Prince* of *Orange* from being their State-holder, tho' Circumſtances and times ſhould ſo change,

change, that their immediate preſervation and very exiſtence of their State ſhould require him to accept, and execute that Office. For his perſonal Reflections towards the latter end, I think very Impertinent, and only fit to be buried in Contempt.

Thus having followed my tedious Reflector through his twenty four Reflections, I take my leave of him, reſerving the *Princes* farther Vindication to ſome time when I ſhall be more at leiſure to write, and peole willinger to read, than they can be under the preſent ſurprize, hourly expectation, and continual anxiety, for the event of this Heroick Enterpriſe.

Admiral HERBERT's *Letter to all Commanders of Ships and Sea-men in His Majeſty's Fleet.*

Gentlemen,

I Have little to add to what his Highneſs has expreſs'd in general Terms, beſides laying before you the dangerous Way you are at the preſent in, where Ruin or Infamy muſt inevitably attend you if you don't join with the *Prince* in the Common Cauſe, for the Defence of your Religion and Liberties; for ſhould it pleaſe God, for the Sins of the Engliſh Nation, to ſuffer your Arms to prevail, to what can your Victory ſerve you, but to enſlave you deeper, and overthrow the True Religion, in which you have liv'd, and your Fathers dy'd? Of which, I beg you, as a Friend, to conſider the Conſequences, and to reflect on the Blot and Infamy it will bring on you, not only now, but in all After-Ages, That by Your means the *Proteſtant Religion* was deſtroy'd, and your Country depriv'd of its Ancient Liberties: And if it pleaſes God to bleſs the *Prince*'s Endeavours with Succeſs, as I don't doubt but he will, conſider then what their Condition will be that

oppoſe him in this ſo good a Deſign, where the greateſt Favour they can hope for, is, their being ſuffer'd to end their Days in Miſery and Want, deteſted and deſpiſed by all good Men.

It is therefore, and for many more Reaſons too long to inſert here, that I, as a true Engliſh-man and your Friend, exhort you to join your Arms to the *Prince* for the Defence of the Common Cauſe, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of your Country. It is what I am well aſſured the *major* and beſt part of the Army as well as the Nation will do ſo ſoon as convenience is offered. Prevent them in ſo good an Action whilſt it is in your Power, and make it appear, That as the Kingdom hath always depended on the Navy for its Defence, ſo you will yet go further by making it, as much as in you lies, the Protection of her Religion and Liberties; and then you may aſſure your ſelves of all Marks of Favour and Honour ſuitable to the Merits of ſo great and glorious an Action. After this I ought not add ſo inconſiderable a thing,, as that it will for ever engage me to be in a moſt particular manner,

Your faithful Friend,

and humble Servant,

Aboard the Leyden
in the Gooree.

AR. HERBERT.

A N

AN ENGAGEMENT OF THE

Noble-men, Knights, and Gentlemen at EXETER, *to Aſſiſt the Prince of* ORANGE *in the defence of the Proteſtant Religion, Laws and Liberties of the People of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland.

WE do ingage to Almighty God, and to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, and with one another, to ſtick firm to this Cauſe, and to one another in the Defence of it, and never to depart from it until our Religion, Laws, and Liberties are ſo far ſecured to us in a Free Parliament, that we ſhall be no more in danger of falling under *Popery* and *Slavery*. And whereas We are ingaged in the Common Cauſe under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by

which means his Perſon may be expoſed to Danger, and to the deſperate and curſed Deſigns of Papiſts, and other Bloody Men, We do therefore ſolmnly ingage to God and to one another, That if any ſuch Attempts be made upon Him, We will purſue not only thoſe that made them, but all their Adherents, and all we find in Arms againſt Us, with the utmoſt Severity of juſt Revenge in their Ruine and Deſtruction; and that the executing any ſuch Atrempt (which God of his Infinite Mercy forbid) ſhall not deprive us from purſuing this Cauſe which we do now undertake, but that it ſhall encourage Us to carry it on with all the Vigor that ſo barbarous Approach ſhall deſerve.

The Declaration of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty at the Rendezvous at Nottingham, Nov. 22. 1688.

WE the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of these Northern Counties assembled together at *Nottingham*, for the defence of the Laws, Religion, and Properties, according to those free-born Liberties and Priviledges, descended to us from our Ancestors, as the undoubted Birth-right of the Subjects of this Kingdom of *England*, (not doubting but the Infringers and Invaders of our Rights will represent us to the rest of the Nation in the most malicious dress they can put upon us) do here unanimously think it our Duty to declare to the rest of our Protestant Fellow-Subjects the Grounds of our present Undertaking.

We are by innumerable Grievances made sensible, that the very Fundamentals of our Religion, Liberties, and Properties are about to be rooted out by our late Jesuitical Privy-Council, as hath been of late too apparent. 1. By the King's dispensing with all the Establish'd Laws at his pleasure. 2. By displacing all Officers out of all Offices of Trust and Advantage, and placing others in their room that are known Papists, deservedly made incapable by the Establish'd Laws of our Land. 3. By destroying the Charters of most Corporations in the Land. 4. By discouraging all persons that are not Papists, preferring such as turn to Popery. 5. By displacing all honest and conscientious Judges, unless they would, contrary to their Consciences, declare that to be Law which was meerly arbitrary. 6. By branding all Men with the name of Rebels that but offered to justify the Laws in a legal Course against the arbitrary proceedings of the King, or any of his corrupt Ministers. 7. By burthening the Nation with an Army, to

maintain the Violation of the Rights of the Subjects. 8. By discountenancing the Establish'd Reformed Religion. 9. By forbiding the Subjects the benefit of Petitioning, and construing them Libellers; so rendring the Laws a Nose of Wax, to serve their Arbitrary Ends. And many more such like, too long here to enumerate.

We being thus made sadly sensible of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government that is by the Influence of Jesuitical Counsels coming upon us, do unanimously declare, That not being willing to deliver our Posterity over to such a condition of Popery and Slavery, as the aforesaid Oppressions inevitably threaten; we will, to the utmost of our Power, oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of *Orange* (whom we hope God Almighty hath sent to rescue us from the Oppressions aforesaid) will use our utmost Endeavours for the recovery of our almost ruin'd Laws, Liberties, and Religion; and herein we hope all good Protestant Subjects will with their Lives and Fortunes be assistant to us, and not be bugbear'd with the opprobrious Terms of *Rebels*, by which they would fright us, to become perfect Slaves to their tyrannical Insolencies and Usurpations; for we assure our selves, that no rational and unbyassed Person will judg it Rebellion to defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes have sworn at their Coronations: Which Oath, how well it hath been observed of late, we desire a *Free Parliament* may have the consideration of.

We own it Rebellion to resist a King that governs by Law, but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will the Law; and to resist such an one, we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence; and in this Consideration we doubt not of all honest Mens Assistance, and humbly hope for, and implore the great God's Protection, that turneth the Hearts of his People as pleaseth him best; it having been observed, That People can never be of one Mind without his Inspiration, which hath in all Ages confirmed that Observation, *Vox Populi est Vox Dei.*

The pesent restoring of Charters, and reversing the oppressing and unjust Judgment given on *Magdalen* Colledge Fellows, is plain, are but to still the people, like Plums to Children, by deceiving them for a while; but if they shall by this Stratagem

Stratagem be fooled, till this preſent ſtorm that threatens the Papiſts, be paſt, aſſoon as they ſhall be reſetled, the former Oppreſſion will be put on with greater vigour: but we hope in vain is the Net ſpread in the ſight of the Birds; For (1.) The Papiſts old Rule is, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, as they term Proteſtants, tho' the Popiſh Religion is the greateſt Hereſy. And (2.) Queen *Mary*'s ſo ill obſerving her promiſes to the *Suffolk*-men that help'd her to her Throne. And above all, (3.) the Popes diſpenſing with the breach of Oaths, Treaties, or Promiſes at his pleaſure, when it makes for the ſervice of Holy Church, as they term it. Theſe, we ſay, are ſuch convincing Reaſons to hinder us from giving Credit to the aforeſaid *Mock-Shews* of Redreſs, that we think our ſelves bound in Conſcience to reſt on no Security that ſhall not be approved by a freely Elected Parliament, to whom, under God, we refer our Cauſe.

His Grace the Duke of NORFOLK's *Speech to the Mayor of* NORWICH *on the Firſt of* December, *in the Market-place of* Norwich.

Mr. MAYOR,

NOT doubting but you and the reſt of your Body, as well as the whole City and Country, may be allarmed by the great Concourſe of Gentry, with the numerous Appearance of their Friends and Servants, as well as of your own *Militia*, here this Morning, I have thought this the moſt proper

proper place, as being the moſt publick one, to give you an account of our Intentions.

Out of the deep ſenſe we had that in the preſent unhappy Juncture of Affairs, nothing we could think of was poſſible to ſecure the Laws, Liberties and Proteſtant Religion, but a Free Parliament; WE ARE HERE MET TO DECLARE, that we will do our utmoſt to defend the ſame by declaring for ſuch a Free Parliament.

And ſince His Majeſty hath been pleaſed (by the News we hear this day) to order Writs for a Parliament to ſit the 15*th* of *January* next, I can only add in the Name of my Self and all theſe Gentlemen, and others here met, That we will ever be ready, to ſupport and defend the Laws, Liberties and Proteſtant Religion: And ſo GOD SAVE THE KING.

To this the Mayor, Aldermen, and the reſt of the Corporation, and a numerous Aſſembly did concur with his Grace, and the reſt of the Gentry.

His Grace at his ligliting from his Horſe, perceiving great numbers of Common People gathering together, called them to him, and told them, He deſired they would not take any occaſion to commit any Diſorder or Outrage, but go quietly to their Homes; and acquainted them that the King had ordered a Free Parliament to be called.

TO

TO THE

KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

The Humble Addreſs of GEORGE *Lord* DARTMOUTH, *Admiral of Your Majeſties Fleet for the preſent Expedition, and the Commanders of Your Majeſties Ships of War now actually at the* Spitehead *in Your Majeſties Service under his Lordſhips Command.*

Moſt Dread Sovereign,

THE deep ſenſe we have had of the great Dangers your Majeſties Sacred Perſon has been in, and the great Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood that threatned theſe your Majeſties Kingdoms, and in probability would have been ſhed, unleſs God of his infinite Mercy had put it into your Majeſties Heart to call a Parliament, the only means, in our opinion, under the Almighty, left to quiet the Minds of your Peo-

ple; We do give your Majesty our most humble and hearty Thanks for your gracious Condescension, beseeching God to give your Majesty all imaginable Happiness and Prosperity, and grant that such Counsels and Resolutions may be promoted, as conduce to your Majesties Honour and Safety, and tend to the Peace and Settlement of this Realm both in Church and State, according to the Establish'd Laws of the Kingdom.

On board the Resolution, *at* Spithead, Decemb. 1. 1688.

Dartmouth.

Berkley.

Ro. Strickland.

J. Berry.	*Joh. Clements.*	*Jo. Montgomery.*
Jo. Beverley.	*Jo. Ashby.*	*M. Tennant.*
John Leake.	*Rob. Wiseman.*	*Clo. Shovell.*
George S. Lo.	*John Jeniper.*	*E. Dover.*
John Lacon.	*Will. Booth.*	*R. Weston.*
Fr. Wicell.	*Tho. Coale.*	*W. Botham.*
Will. Davis.	*R. D'Lavall.*	*J. Tyrrel.*
John Munden.	*Tho. Johnson.*	*St. Fairborne.*
Tho. Legg.	*M. Aylmer.*	*Henr. Botler.*
Tho. Leighton.	*Fr. Frowde.*	*William Pooley.*
St. Akerman.	*Tho. Skelton.*	*Jo. Frasèby.*
W. Cornwal.	*Ab. Potter.*	*Ba. Wild.*
W. Jenning.	*A. Hastings.*	

FINIS.